

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY EUR/IB:MLDURKEE/NEA/AFN - JMONTVI

APPROVED BY EUR - MR. ARMITAGE

S/AM - MR. PEZZULLO

NEA - MR. SOBER

EUR/RPM - MR. HELMAN

C - MR. DOBBINS

S/S-MR. MOFFAT

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY, A)

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMO: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN

MINISTER CORTINA, MAY 23 (S/S NO. 7510502)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM J.A.ARMITAGE, ACTING

1.PARTICIPANTS - US

THE SECRETARY, COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT, ASSISTANT SEC.
HARTMAN, AMBASSADOR STABLER.

PARTICIPANTS - SPAIN

FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF NORTH
AMERICAN AFFAIRS PERINAT, INTERPRETER.

2.CHECKLIST: --PRESIDENT'S VISIT: PRESIDENT FORD IS
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LOOKING FORWARD TO CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS IN MADRID.

--SPAIN-NATO: WE HAVE APPROACHED OUR ALLIES ON SPAIN-
NATO LINKS AND WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR SPANISH

PARTICIPATION.

--BASE AGREEMENT: PROMPT CONCLUSION OF NEW DEFENSE AGREEMENT SERVES BOTH OUR COMMON SECURITY INTEREST

AND OUR LONGER-TERM INTEREST IN BRINGING SPAIN MORE FULLY INTO ATLANTIC FRAMEWORK.

-- SPANISH SAHARA: US SUPPORTS PEACEFUL MEANS TO RESOLVE DISPUTE AND IS NEUTRAL ON SUBSTANCE; FRANCE MAY BE IN BEST POSITION TO BRING ALL THE INTERESTED PARTIES TOGETHER.

3.SETTING:

CORTINA HAS INDICATED THAT HE WANTS TO DISCUSS THE DISPUTE WITH MOROCCO AND, IN GENERAL TERMS, THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MADRID. WE EXPECT THAT HE WILL ALSO ASK ABOUT THE RESULTS OF OUR APPROACHES TO OTHER NATO GOVERNMENTS ON SPAIN-NATO TIES.

OUR OBJECTIVES ARE TO FACILITATE A SUCCESSFUL VISIT BY THE PRESIDENT, TO SIDESTEP THEIR IDEA ABOUT A US ROLE IN THE SAHARAN ISSUE, AND TO SHIFT SPANISH THINKING FROM THE UNPRODUCTIVE SPAIN-NATO GAMBIT TO MORE REALISTIC CONSIDERATION OF OUR BILATERAL DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT.

YOU LAST SAW CORTINA IN NOVEMBER 1974, WHEN YOU MET DURING AN EARLIER REFUELING STOP AT TORREJON.

4. BACKGROUND ANALYSIS

OUR CURRENT EFFORTS REGARDING SPAIN AROSE AS A RESULT OF SPANISH PRESSURE IN THE BASE TALKS TO ESTABLISH SOME SORT OF EXPLICIT LINKAGE BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO.

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THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION IN THE NATO SUMMIT MEETING AND HIS SUBSEQUENT TRIP TO MADRID ARE VIEWED WITH GREAT EXPECTATIONS BY SPANISH LEADERS.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SPAIN HAS NOT CHANGED OBJECTIVELY, BUT THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE IS MARKED BY GROWING SPECULATION THAT FRANCO MAY SOON STEP DOWN. WHILE WE BELIEVE THAT SPANISH LEADERS ARE COUNTING ON CONTINUED US SUPPORT THROUGH THE FLUID TRANSITION PERIOD, THEY SEEM TO BE VERY SENSITIVE TO EXPECTED DOMESTIC REACTION TO A NEW BASE AGREEMENT. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, SPAIN IS FACING DIFFICULTIES WITH INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND A GROWING BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT BUT STILL RELATIVELY BETTER OFF THAN MANY OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES.

5.ISSUES/TALKING POINTS

A. PRESIDENT'S VISIT -- YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO THE MADRID VISIT, WHEN PRESIDENT FORD PLANS TO DISCUSS THE EUROPEAN SITUATION, DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH SPAIN AND OTHER IMPORTANT MATTERS.

-- WE RECOGNIZE THAT SPAIN IS AT AN IMPORTANT THRESHOLD AND HOPE THAT WE CAN HELP BRING SPAIN INTO HER PROPER PLACE IN EUROPE.

B. SPAIN-NATO/BASE AGREEMENT -- SPANISH POSITION

CORTINA IS VERY ANXIOUS TO USE THE BASE TALKS AS A LEVER TO GET US TO DO MORE TO ESTABLISH SOME EXPLICIT LINKAGE WITH NATO. HE KNOWS WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THIS WITH THE ALLIES AND WILL WANT TO LEARN WHAT MAY RESULT.

US POSITION

ALLIED REACTIONS TO OUR PROPOSALS FOR SPECIFIC STEPS TO BRING SPAIN CLOSER TO NATO HAVE BEEN QUITE NEGATIVE AND WE CANNOT EXPECT MUCH TO HAPPEN BEFORE FRANCO GOES.

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THE DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE WILL DISCUSS SPAIN IN SOME DETAIL. BY THE TIME YOU LAND IN MADRID, YOU WILL KNOW WHETHER WE SUCCEEDED IN GETTING A REFERENCE TO SPAIN IN THE DPC COMMUNIQUE. THE PRESIDENT WILL MAKE A STRONG FAVORABLE STATEMENT ON SPAIN AT THE SUMMIT. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE LACK OF MAJOR PROGRESS WE CAN EXPECT IN THE SHORT-TERM, WE SHOULD TRY TO SHIFT THE FOCUS OF SPANISH THINKING FROM WHAT NATO MIGHT DO FOR SPAIN RIGHT NOW TO WHAT THE US AND SPAIN SHOULD CONTINUE TO DO IN THEIR OWN MUTUAL INTEREST, AND WHAT STEPS OVER TIME CAN BE TAKEN TO BRING SPAIN CLOSER TO NATO.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- IN LAST FEW WEEKS, WE HAVE HAD HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER NATO GOVERNMENTS ON IMPORTANCE OF ESTABLISHING CLOSER TIES BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO.

-- WE HAVE EXPLAINED OUR VIEWS IN NATO CAPITALS, IN WASHINGTON, AND IN THE DEFENSE MINISTERS' MEETING IN BRUSSELS; WE EXPECT THAT THE SUBJECT WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE NATO SUMMIT.

-- (IF SPAIN MENTIONED IN DPC COMMUNIQUE) SPAIN'S IMPORTANCE TO NATO IS PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE COMMUNIQUE JUST ISSUED BY THE DEFENSE PLANNING COUNCIL.

-- MORE SPECIFIC LINKS BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO HAVE ALSO BEEN DISCUSSED, BUT I MUST TELL YOU FRANKLY THAT IT HAS NOT YET BEEN POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP THE NECESSARY UNANIMITY FOR SUCH STEPS AT PRESENT, ALTHOUGH WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS.

-- WE BELIEVE THE PROSPECTS ARE BETTER IN THE LONGER-TERM AND WE SHOULD COORDINATE OUR EFFORTS IN SEEKING TO GAIN GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT AMONG THE OTHER GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED.

-- BUT WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO LET THE SPAIN-NATO QUESTION DIVERT US FROM THE MORE IMMEDIATE TASK OF
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DEVELOPING AN APPROPRIATE NEW ARRANGEMENT FOR OUR BILATERAL DEFENSE COOPERATION.

-- AS OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE SO FREQUENTLY STATED, US-SPANISH DEFENSE COOPERATION IS BASED ON OUR COMMON SECURITY INTEREST AND IS AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO DEFINE THE SCOPE AND CONTENT OF OUR NEW AGREEMENT, AND I HAVE ASKED AMB. MCCLOSKEY TO MEET WITH MR. ROVIRA IN JUNE TO DO SO.

C. SPANISH SAHARA -- SPANISH POSITION:

RENEWED SPANISH ATTENTION TO THE DISPUTE WITH MOROCCO OVER SPANISH SAHARA HAS BEEN STIMULATED BY RECENT ARMED INCIDENTS IN THAT TERRITORY AS WELL AS BY CURRENT DIPLOMATIC DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING THE VISIT BY A UN TEAM, THE OFFER BY PRESIDENT GISCARD TO SPONSOR TALKS AMONG THE INTERESTED PARTIES, AND ALSO DIRECT SPANISH-MOROCCAN CONTACTS. CORTINA TOLD AMB. STABLER THAT SPATN HAS NO DESIRE FOR A CONFRONTATION BUT CANNOT STAND IDLY BY IF MOROCCO TRIES TO TAKE OVER. HE HOPED THAT THE US COULD ENCOURAGE GOM TO ACCEPT ALGERIAN PARTICIPATION IN ANY MULTILATERAL TALKS ON THE PROBLEM (SPAIN HAS LOOKED TO ALGERIA AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO MOROCCAN AMBITIONS).

US POSITION:

WE REMAIN NEUTRAL ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SAHARA DISPUTE, BUT WE HAVE URGED SPAIN AND MOROCCO TO USE

PEACEFUL MEANS IN DEALING WITH IT. FRANCE'S OFFER TO HOST CONVERSATIONS ON THE SAHARA AMONG THE INTERESTED PARTIES IN PARIS IS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, AND WE SEE SOME LOGIC IN SPAIN'S POSITION THAT THERE CAN BE NO SOLUTION WITHOUT ALGERIAN PARTICIPATION. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE US SHOULD TRY TO CONVINCE THE MOROCCANS THAT ALGERIA SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN SAHARAN NEGOTIATIONS, AS CORTINA SUGGESTS. THIS IS SECRET

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LIKELY TO AROUSE RESENTMENT AGAINST US FROM THE MOROCCANS, EVEN IF THEY EVENTUALLY DECIDE TO INCLUDE THE ALGERIANS. IF MOROCCO NEEDS PERSUADING, FRANCE MAY BE IN THE BEST POSITION TO DO IT.

TALKING POINTS

-- AS AMBASSADOR STABLER HAS RECENTLY TOLD YOU, WE REMAIN NEUTRAL ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SAHARA DISPUTE. OUR MAIN CONCERN IS THAT SPAIN AND MOROCCO, WITH BOTH OF WHOM WE HAVE VERY FRIENDLY RELATIONS, USE PEACEFUL MEANS IN WORKING OUT A SOLUTION. WE URGED THIS COURSE ON MOROCCO MOST RECENTLY ON MAY 20.

-- PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING'S OFFER TO KING HASSAN IN MAY TO HOST NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS AMONG THE PARTIES SOUNDS CONSTRUCTIVE TO US.

-- WE SEE SOME LOGIC IN SPAIN'S POSITION THAT SAHARA NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS OR ELSEWHERE WOULD NOT SUCCEED WITHOUT ALGERIAN PARTICIPATION.

-- PERHAPS FRANCE, AS THE PROSPECTIVE HOST, WOULD BE IN A GOOD POSITION TO SEEK AGREEMENT AMONG THE PARTIES ON AN INVITATION LIST.

-- IN ANY CASE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT PEACEFUL EFFORTS AT RESOLVING THE SAHARA QUESTION SO THAT IT DOES NOT LEAD TO INSTABILITY IN THE AREA.

(IF APPROPRIATE) -- ALSO, WE WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF SPAIN'S INTERESTS IN CONNECTION WITH OUR MILITARY SALES TO MOROCCO.

-- AS YOU KNOW, WE GAVE YOUR AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE MILITARY EQUIPMENT WE PLAN TO SELL TO MOROCCO OVER THE NEXT THREE TO FOUR YEARS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THESE LIMITED SALES WILL NOT HAVE A DESTABILIZING EFFECT ON THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE AREA.

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6. CLEARED: S/AM, MR. PEZZULLO; NEA, MR. SOBER; C, MR.
DOBBINS. INGERSOLL

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